

Message Text

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60

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ACDA-05 IO-10 MC-02 TRSE-00 CIAE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 980

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMCONSUL ADANA

AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

AMCONSUL IZMIR

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USUN

CINCUSAFE

USICNCEUR

USNMR SHAPE

USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES

CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON

DIRNSA WASHDC

SECDEF WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 7609

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT PFOR TU US

SUBJ: THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO AS A CAMPAIGN ISSUE

REF: (A) ANKARA 7328 (B) ANKARA 7458 (C) ANKARA 7538 (D) ANKARA 7551

1. SUMMARY: THE DECISION OF THE U.S. CONGRESS TO LIFT THE EMBARGO HAS BEEN PICKED UP AS A CAMPAIGN ISSUE BY OPPOSITION LEADER ECEVIT WHO CLAIMS IT IS A CONDITIONED LIFTING AND THEREFORE AN INTERFERENCE IN TURKISH INTERNAL AFFAIRS. PRIMIN DEMIREL HAS NOT RESPONDED DIRECTLY BUT HIS PARTY IS POINTING OUT
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THAT ECEVIT'S GOVERNMENT BROUGHT ON THE EMBARGO WHILE

DEMIREL'S HAS GOTTEN IF LIFTED. DURING LAST FEW SPEECHES ECEVIT HAS NOT MENTIONED ISSUE, BUT IT HAS NOT DIED COMPLETELY AND COULD BE REVIVED DURING FINAL THREE DAYS OF CAMPAIGN. END SUMMARY.

2. DURING THE LAST WEEK OF THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE OCTOBER 12 PARTIAL SENATE ELECTION, THE LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO HAS BECOME A CAMPAIGN ISSUE. DESPITE ASSURANCES BY RPP LEADER ECEVIT THAT THE RPP DID NOT CONSIDER THE TIMING OF THE DECISION ON THE EMBARGO A DOMESTIC POLITICAL ISSUE (REF B). HIS IMMEDIATE REACTION TO THE VOTE WAS IN A CAMPAIGN SPEECH OCT 3 IN WHICH HE ACCUSED THE U.S. OF INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL TURKISH AFFAIRS AND DEMANDED THAT PRIME MINISTER DEMIREL REPUDIATE THE U.S. CONGRESSIONAL ACTION (REF C). ECEVIT'S ATTACK WAS BASED ON AN INTERPRETATION OF THE RANGEL AMENDMENT (WHICH REQUESTS THE PRESIDENT TO CONSULT WITH THE GOVERNMENT ON OPIUM POPPY CONTROLS) AS A CONDITION LIMITING THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO. IN A CAMPAIGN SPEECH ON OCT 4 HE PURSUED THE ATTACK SAYING "IF THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES ARE RELUCTANT WE CAN DEFINITELY FIND OTHER SOURCES FROM WHICH TO BUY ARMS FOR OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE."

3. DEMIREL HAS SO FAR NOT RESPONDED DIRECTLY TO ECEVIT'S CHALLENGE, ALTHOUGH HIS COALITION PARTNERS HAVE. DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER FEZYIOGLU, LEADER OF THE REPUBLICAN RELIANCE (RR), TERMED THE CONGRESSIONAL DECISION "CONSTRUCTIVE" ALTHOUGH NOT COMPLETELY SATISFYING. THE DEPUTY CHAIRMEN OF BOTH THE NATIONAL SALVATION PARTY (NSP) AND THE NATIONAL ACTION PARTY (NAP) HAVE DESCRIBED THE CONGRESSIONAL DECISION AS INTERFERENCE IN TURKISH INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND THEREFORE UNACCEPTABLE. DEMIREL AND HIS JUSTICE PARTY (JP) APPARENTLY HOPE TO AVOID RISING TO ECEVIT'S BAIT AND ARE COUNTING ON THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO TO BE A PLUS FACTOR FOR THE JP.

4. THE PRO-JP PRESS HAS POINTED OUT THAT IT WAS ECEVIT'S GOVERNMENT WHICH CAUSED THE EMBARGO TO BE IMPOSED AND IT IS DEMIREL'S GOVERNMENT WHICH HAS GOTTEN IT LIFTED. PRIME MINISTER CAGLAYANGIL, IN A CAMPAIGN STATEMENT ON TURKISH RADIO ON OCT 8 MADE THE POINT FORCEFULLY: "AND WHAT ABOUT THE NEW RPP'S CONDUCT OVER THE U.S. ARMS EMBARGO ON TURKEY? THE ATTEMPTS TO IMPOSE AN EMBARGO ON TURKEY STARTED IN THEIR TIME BEFORE THE

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CYPRUS ISSUE AROSE....OUR GOVERNMENT HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH IT ... THEY UNDERESTIMATED US THEN: 'SUCH A HESITANT, INDECISIVE GOVERNMENT CAN NEVER HAVE THE EMBARGO LIFTED. THE U.S. CONGRESS WILL NOT RECTIFY ITS DECISION BEFORE WE COME TO POWER,' THEY SAID. WE ALL LISTENED TOGETHER TO WHAT THEY SAID AS SOON AS THE EMBARGO DECISION WAS LIFTED AND THE POSSIBILITY AROSE FOR THE IMMEDIATE SHIPMENT OF HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS WORTH OF MATERIEL TO REPLENISH OUR STOCKS BEFORE THEY RAN OUT. IT IS CONDUCT LIKE THIS WHICH MAKES

THE ELECTION STRUGGLE DEGENERATE..."

5. DEMIREL HAS RESPONDED ONLY OBLIQUELY TO ECEVIT'S CHARGES. IN SPEECHES OCT 4 AND 5, HE SAID: "ECEVIT IS GRADUALLY GETTING UGLIER. WHAT HE SAYS, WHAT HE WANTS IS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND. THE THINGS HE SAYS ARE NOT THE THINGS THAT COME FROM THE MOUTH OF A DIGNIFIED MAN....EVERYTHING HE SAYS IS CONTRADICTORY." DEMIREL CONCLUDED THAT ECEVIT'S CONTRADICTORY STATEMENTS (INCLUDING CONFLICTING STATEMENTS ECEVIT MADE IN 1972 AND 1974 ABOUT THE NEED TO PURCHASE PHANTOM AIRCRAFT) ARE PROOF THAT HIS MIND IS CONFUSED, THAT IT HAS BECOME "UNBALANCED".

6. IN AN ATTEMPT TO HEAD OFF FURTHER RPP EXPLOITATION OF THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO AS A CAMPAIGN ISSUE, AN EMBOFF OCT 4 GAVE THE TEXT OF THE RANGEL AMENDMENT TO ORHAN KOLOGLU, THE RPP LIAISON OFFICER WITH FOREIGN EMBASSIES AND PRESS. KOLOGLU ALLEGEDLY PARTICIPATES IN WRITING FOREIGN POLICY SECTIONS OF ECEVIT'S SPEECHES. KOLOGLU DID NOT EVEN FINISH READING THE TEXT OF THE AMENDMENT BEFORE HE LAUNCHED INTO A SPIRITED AND SELF-CONSCIOUS DEFENSE OF ECEVIT'S SPEECH. THE BASIS OF THE DEFENSE WAS THAT THIS AMENDMENT WAS ONE OF A SERIES OF U.S. INTERVENTIONS IN TURKISH DOMESTIC AFFAIRS -- AND THAT THESE INTERVENTIONS WERE CONSISTENTLY SUPPORTIVE OF THE JP AND DETRIMENTAL TO THE RPP. HE HARKED BACK TO THE VISIT OF NATO SEC GEN LUNS TO THE U.S. CLAIMING THAT HE HAD PROOF THAT NOT ONLY LUNS BUT UNNAMED U.S. OFFICIALS ALSO ARGUED FOR A LIFTING OF THE BAN ON THE BASIS THAT IT WOULD HELP THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT.

7. IN RESPONSE TO EMBOFF'S REPEATED STATEMENTS OF DISBELIEF KOLOGLU FINALLY SAID GENERAL HAIG WAS ONE OF THE U.S. OFFICIALS WHO HAD PARTICIPATED IN THIS EFFORT. EMBOFF EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT GENERAL HAIG WAS FAMILIAR ENOUGH WITH TURKISH INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION THAT HE WOULD VENTURE TO COMMENT ON IT, LET

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ALONE TAKE SUCH A POSITION. KOLOGLU WAS NOT CONVINCED, BUT FINALLY HE DID COMMIT HIMSELF TO SHOWING THE TEXT OF THE RANGEL AMENDMENT TO ECEVIT AND TELLING HIM THAT THE AMENDMENT HAD NO PRACTICAL EFFECT ON THE LEGISLATION -- AND THAT IT WAS NO RPT NOT A CONDITION IMPOSED ON THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO.

8. IN HIS SPEECHES OCT 5, 7 AND 8 ECEVIT HAS NOT RETURNED TO THE THEME OF U.S. INTERVENTION, BUT HE HAS NOT FORESWORN IT EITHER, AND SINCE IT IS A CROWD PLEASER, IT MAY WELL REAPPEAR DURING THE FINAL THREE DAYS OF CAMPAIGNING. THE MYTH THAT THE RANGEL AMENDMENT HAS IMPOSED A CONDITION OF THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO HAS NOT DIED WITH ECEVIT'S SILENCE. AN ANKA NEWS AGENCY DISPATCH APPEARING IN THE TURKISH PRESS OCT 9 CLAIMS THAT ALTHOUGH ALL PREVIOUSLY-PURCHASED MILITARY EQUIPMENT WILL NOW BE SHIPPED, THE PURCHASE OF ANY NEW EQUIPMENT WILL BE

DELAYED UNTIL PRESIDENT FORD REPORTS TO CONGRESS ON
THE OPIUM QUESTION 60 DAYS FROM NOW.

9. COMMENT: THE REACTION OF ECEVIT AND THE RPP TO THE
LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO CANNOT BE EXPLAINED SIMPLY IN TERMS
OF POLITICAL OPPORTUNISM AND DEMAGOGUERY. IT IS CERTAINLY
THAT, BUT MUCH OF THE RPP, PERHAPS INCLUDING ECEVIT, HAS LONG FELT
THAT THE USG HAS A DECIDED PREFERENCE FOR THE JP. ONE REASON
FOR THIS FEELING IS THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE JP AS
THE PARTY OF CAPITALISM, AND TURKISH POLITICIANS ON THE LEFT,
VICTIMS OF THEIR OWN PROPAGANDA, ARE APT TO BELIEVE THAT U.S.
FOREIGN POLICY IS THE CAPTIVE OF THE SHORT TERM INTERESTS OF
"CAPITALISTS".

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